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NFAC #8155/80

17 December 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Coordinator for Academic Relations, National  
Foreign Assessment Center

SUBJECT : Attached Paper on "Relations between the C.I.A.  
and the Academic Community"

1. Attached is the paper you asked me to prepare for you to give to an interested member of the Transition Team. I fear it will evidence hasty preparation even though it was delayed by the need to round up some facts and numbers not routinely available to my staff--mainly from other Directorates.

2. I have included in a classified annex a brief summary on the Harvard guidelines. The annex is classified so that the DDO impact can be mentioned. The paper itself is Unclassified when separated from the annex.

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Attachment:  
As stated

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SUBJECT: Attached Paper on "Relations between the C.I.A. and  
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**RELATIONS BETWEEN THE C.I.A. AND THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY**

From its inception in 1947-1948 into the decade of the sixties the Central Intelligence Agency was closely and cordially linked to the American academic community. The linkage was individual, not institutional, a product of the circumstances, not only that former professors and professors on leave were prominent in the leadership of the OSS, the predecessor agency of the CIA, and of the latter itself when it was formed, but also that academia was the principal reservoir to which the Agency might turn for the talents and also much of the general background information it required to perform its mission. The often remarked fact that the linkage was particularly close to the leading private universities and colleges of the northeastern states was a historical accident. It was from Harvard, Yale, Princeton and the like that most of the professors who joined the OSS or the CIA came and they naturally turned first to their former colleagues and students for the information and the recruits they needed to do their jobs.

This symbiotic, even to a degree placental, relationship between the Central Intelligence Agency and the colleges and universities from which most of its early analysts and operational case officers came was gravely interrupted by the ferment of the sixties and seventies. For it was in the academic community, and especially in the leading private institutions of the Northeast and the Pacific Coast that the reaction against the war in Vietnam, against the draft, and ultimately against the foreign policy of containment itself (which was blamed for the war and the draft) originated and largely ran its course. One aspect of this period of ferment was the series of investigations into intelligence agency activities that culminated in the widely publicized report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, the Church Committee, in April 1976. The investigations were concerned mainly with the operational side of the Agency, with what is now called political action and with counter-intelligence. But the Agency and its activities as a whole were affected because anything labeled "CIA" became suspect. Students and younger faculty members, manifesting the

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changed climate of the time, reacted strongly against the excesses, real or merely alleged, attributed to the Agency by the investigations. Indeed, so vigorous was the reaction that some academic communities effectively closed their doors to relations of any kind with the Agency and faculty members who sought to continue their contacts, or were revealed as having had such contacts in the past, were subject to various and often highly intimidating forms of harassment. This development, so adverse to the interest of the Agency in maintaining its stimulating contacts with academia, was most pronounced on just those campuses of the Northeast and the Pacific Coast that had earlier been the main sources of the Agency's intellectual sustenance. Very few of the larger public universities were affected, and those mainly in the Middle West and on the West Coast. In the South and Southwest, the reaction was far milder and there was little if any ferment on the campuses and few open demonstrations of hostility to the Agency.

Recovery from this low point in relations between the Agency and the academic community began within months after the publication of the Church report. Despite the efforts of some activists among the students and younger faculty members to keep it alive, the termination of American participation in the war in Vietnam and the abolition of the draft, both of which contributed to a marked decline in the fever of the anti-war movement, produced a slow but steady abatement of the campaign against the Agency. The hostilities continued to erupt from time to time, but their intensity declined progressively as fewer students and faculty retained sufficient of the anti-war and anti-CIA fervor to join in the demonstrations. The Director of Central Intelligence of the period, and the Agency under his direction, sought to encourage this change by pursuing a policy of "openness." What this meant was more appearances of Agency officials and analysts, labeled as such, in the academic meetings to which they had access, including speech-making visits to the academic community by the Director and lectures on professional subjects of common interest to academic audiences by Agency analysts. It also meant the wider distribution of Agency unclassified intelligence publications, especially to the academic community. These efforts probably contributed to the change though it is impossible to judge just how substantial that contribution was. What we know is that progress continued as the pall of the Vietnam War lifted and then slowly drifted into the past.

Indeed, it became possible to detect some quickening of the pace of the change early in the Carter administration when relations between the United States and the Soviet Union began to deteriorate. Thereafter the two developments continued to move in their opposite but complimentary directions, Agency-academia relations improving more or less in step with the worsening of U.S.-Soviet relations. In this process the invasion of

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Afghanistan by Soviet armed forces in December 1979 was a significant milestone. Within days of that event it became evident that Agency representatives were once again welcome on campuses from which they had been virtually excluded for several years. Even the Ivy League institutions of the Northeast and their West Coast counterparts began reopening their doors to avowed Agency visitors. Centers of anti-CIA agitation lingered on a few campuses and no doubt much larger numbers of students and faculty on many more campuses might still be stirred to open demonstrations against the Agency if sufficiently provoked. With very few exceptions, however, by the beginning of the academic year 1980-1981 relations between the Agency and the academic community had returned to something distinctly resembling their original state of mutual respect and support. In the following labeled sections the forms assumed by these relations are listed and described, with quantitative measures of their dimensions being given to the extent that these are available.

CONTRACTS

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The Agency has research contracts with individual scholars and with colleges, universities, and private research organizations. Various Agency components now have a total of [ ] contracts with academic institutions; the administration of each school is witting. Individual academicians who accept contracts from the Agency are advised to inform their supervisors but the actual disclosure is left to the individual.

The Agency maintains year-long contracts, subject to renewal, with a number of academic consultants for the National Intelligence Council, the NFAC analytic offices and the DS&T. [ ] c

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[ ] These consultants advise on problems of intelligence analysis and may serve on panels that periodically meet to assist in developing and monitoring research programs. In recent years, NFAC has attracted several scholars-in-residence, of which there are [ ] at present, scholars with established academic reputations, who have come into the Agency, under contract, to participate for one or more years as active members of the analytic offices. In addition, the [ ] institutions who provide translations of unclassified publications.

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AD HOC CONTRACTS

In addition to those from academia who are under contracts, individual scholars are frequently brought in ad hoc for consultation or to make presentations. Some volunteer their services but most are paid consulting

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fees and have their travel expenses reimbursed. These occasional consultants may participate in conferences and symposia, meet with individual analysts, or lecture to classes conducted by the Office of Training and Education.

#### DISCUSSION/DINNERS

An innovation since 1977 has been the discussion/dinners held in the Headquarters building about every other month. During these evening sessions, of which the Director of Central Intelligence is host, a topic of major intelligence concern is discussed informally by several visiting specialists from the academic (and occasionally from the business) community, by interested officials from other government agencies, and by senior Agency officials and experts on the subject.

#### PRESIDENTS' VISITS

Another program that has been under way for the past three years is one designed to introduce college and university presidents to the Agency and Agency senior officials to the academic administrator's point of view. These visits have averaged two a year. They normally involve about ten presidents who come to the Headquarters for a one-day visit. The visitors are greeted by the Director and are briefed by leaders of the three analytical and operational directorates. They are given every opportunity to comment and their questions are answered with candor. Letters received from these visitors following their exposure to the Agency indicate that the program has been appreciated and has been successful in gaining the understanding support of the Agency by academic administrators.

#### OTHER VISITS TO HEADQUARTERS

There are frequent requests from colleges and universities to send students--or faculty members--to the Headquarters building for briefings, either on the Agency and its functions or on substantive issues. The groups vary in size from less than a dozen members to well over a hundred. The briefings are arranged, and often participated in, by the Academic Relations Staff or the staff of the Office of Public Affairs. During 1980 there have been sixteen such visiting groups. In addition, individual scholars occasionally request permission to meet with our analysts for unclassified discussions. These discussions are generally of value both to the CIA analysts and to their guests.

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**SECRET**VISITS TO CAMPUSES

During Fiscal Year 1980, nineteen of our specialists spoke before academic groups at various colleges and universities. For the purpose of arranging such visits the Academic Relations Staff and the Office of Public Affairs maintain rosters of Agency speakers on many topics of possible academic interest. The Agency is also asked on occasion to provide a speaker for college alumni groups. Further, during 1980 the Office of Public Affairs arranged visits to the Agency Headquarters by three large (over 300) groups, each composed of alumni of several institutions.

PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

Many Agency personnel maintain contact with academic scholars in their own professional fields. These contacts are facilitated by the attendance of Agency specialists at professional meetings and conventions. During the last fiscal year, the Agency sponsored attendance by ☐ NFAC analysts at over 200 of these meetings. A recent trend has been toward more active participation by NFAC analysts in these conventions through presentation of papers and membership on discussion panels. During FY 1980, there were 69 occasions when staff members presented papers or participated in discussions as members of panels. The reaction of the audiences to CIA participation has been generally positive.

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PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTION

Some analytic offices and the Academic Relations Staff provide copies of unclassified Agency publications to a limited number of leaders in the academic world. For example, during 1980, the latter has distributed some 40 publications to approximately 150 professors on four lists (with some duplication) representing various scholarly interests. The feedback from this program has proven of value to our analysts and the good will engendered for the Agency is an intangible but important asset. The Academic Relations Staff also arranges for answers to be prepared to inquiries from faculty members or students that are addressed to various officials of the Agency.

RECRUITMENT AND INTERN PROGRAMS

The Office of Personnel has informal, cooperative relationships with selected department heads, leading faculty members, and placement officers at some ☐ colleges and universities. (Visits by recruiters are made annually to about ☐ of these schools). The contacts assist our recruiters

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in identifying potential staff employees. These are all overt relationships, conducted with the approval--often the assistance--of university officials. The Agency also has a Graduate Studies Program in which graduate students are brought into the Agency, under contract, to work for a period of about three months. There were [ ] summer interns in 1980. Finally, the Agency participates in a student trainee program for undergraduates--a cooperative program with colleges and universities that permits students to attend college and work full time at the Agency in alternate semesters. The number varies but there were [ ] such student trainees under contract in the summer of 1980.

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EEO ACTIVITIES

The Office of Equal Employment Opportunity seeks to increase minority representation in staff positions. Several visits have been made in recent months to historically Black institutions in an effort to make students and faculties aware of job opportunities available in the Agency. Similarly, in 1980, for the first time, the Agency participated in the National Urban League's Summer Fellows Program--a program designed to help faculty members at Black colleges better prepare their students for careers in government. There were [ ] National Urban League Fellows in the Agency last summer.

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## ANNEX

THE "GUIDELINES" ISSUE

The subject of the Harvard "guidelines" played so prominent a role in the events of the years during which relations between the Agency and the academic community were most strained that a brief discussion of that subject is required to complete the picture. (U)

The "recommended guidelines on relationships between the Harvard community and the United States intelligence agencies" were a direct product of the report of the Church Committee of the United States Senate. A month after that report was published in April, 1976, President Derek C. Bok of Harvard appointed a committee of the university faculties and charged its members with considering whether the report indicated that "new rules of conduct for members of the Harvard community might be needed." The Committee's response, delivered to Bok that same month (May 1976), discussed the major findings of the Church Committee report by which Harvard was, in their opinion, affected and recommended to the Harvard community six guidelines "to protect the academic community and enable it to serve the most productive role in a free society." Summarized, the guidelines were as follows:

1. Harvard might have research contracts with the CIA provided they conformed to the rules for contracting with other outside sponsors and their existence was made public.
2. Individual members of the Harvard community might enter into direct or indirect consulting arrangements with the CIA to provide research and analytical services. But such individuals should report each such arrangement in writing to his/her dean who should then inform the president of the university.
3. Any member of the Harvard community serving the CIA as a recruiter should report that fact in writing to the dean of the appropriate faculty, who should inform the president of the university and the appropriate placement offices of the university. Such recruiters should not give the CIA the name of another member of the Harvard community without that individual's prior consent.
4. Harvard community members should not undertake intelligence operations for the CIA. Specifically, they should not lend their names to misleading or untrue materials for propaganda purposes.

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5. No member of the Harvard community should assist the CIA in obtaining the unwitting services of another member of that community and the CIA should not employ members of the Harvard community in an unwitting manner.

6. Questions regarding the interpretation of the first five guidelines should be raised initially with the dean of the appropriate faculty and, if necessary, with the president of the university or a member of his staff. (U)

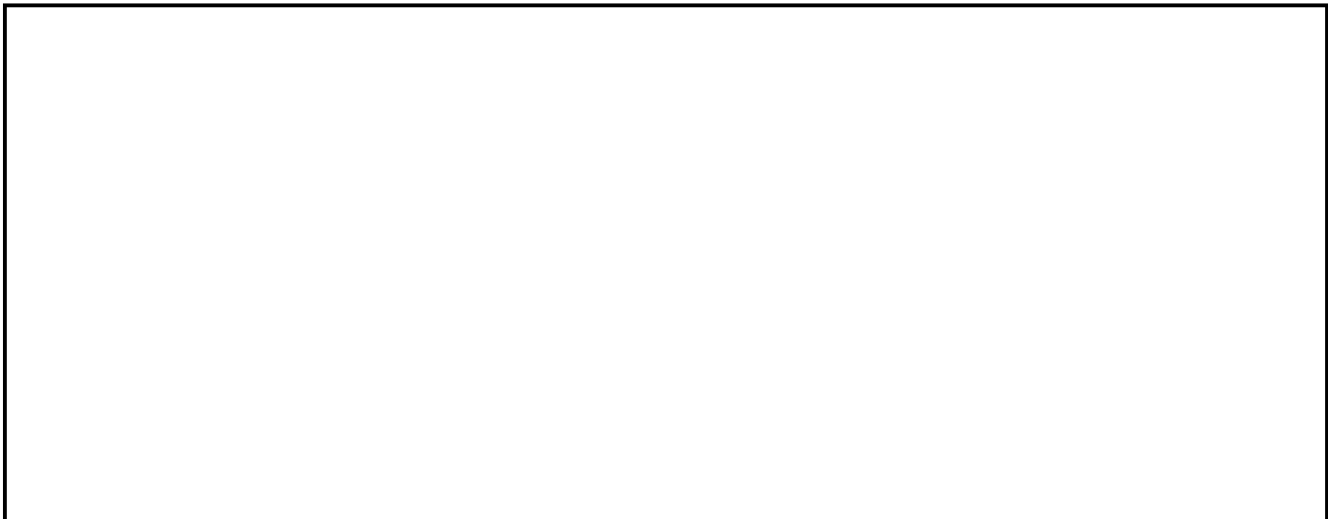
Derek Bok considered the report of the committee he had appointed and on 20 May 1977 released it to the Harvard community and to the public, saying that he "would expect Harvard and its faculty and staff members to be sensitive to the issues discussed in the report and to act consistently with the Committee's guidelines in any relationships they may have with U.S. intelligence agencies." (U)

As it happened, before the Harvard report was released Agency Headquarters regulations had already declared that the existence, though not necessarily the content, of a contract with any academic institution should be public and had banned unwitting relations between the Agency and members of the academic community, unless in extremely exceptional and rare circumstances when the Director might allow exceptions. Further, the Agency was engaging in no propaganda operations of the type denounced by the Church Committee report at the time. Consequently, the only Harvard

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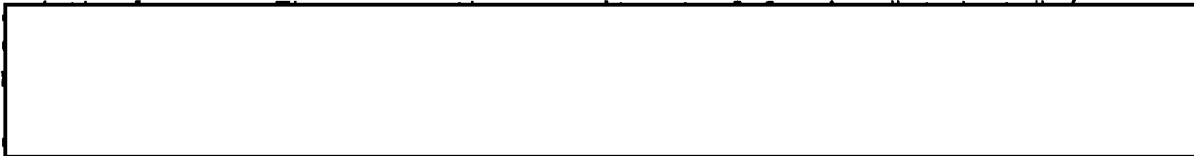
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At the same time that the guidelines were released, the President of Harvard sent them to the Agency, inviting comment. This action resulted in a long exchange of correspondence and of visits, extending over nearly three years by the end of which, in the spring of 1979, it had become apparent that there were, indeed, only two points at issue between Harvard

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issues remain unresolved. Harvard considers both practices to be inimical to the responsibilities of the university and to its character as a community devoted to free and open inquiry in search of knowledge and understanding.

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The Agency also maintains that in those rare instances in which an American academic can be of use to the national security in a confidential capacity, the decision whether to engage in the indicated activity should be left to the judgment of the individual concerned. (S)

Harvard made some effort, though hardly an effort that would be described as concerted, to enlist some of its sister institutions in its "guidelines" approach to the intelligence agencies. That is to say, copies of the committee report and of President Bok's approval of the guidelines were sent to a few other colleges and universities, implying that they might wish to consider parallel action. A few other institutions picked up the Harvard lead from the publicity that attended release of the Harvard guidelines. Meantime, the Center for National Security Studies, a Washington, D.C. organization, was engaged in launching a campaign to spread acceptance of the Harvard guidelines, initially by about 40 academic institutions. The results have not been very gratifying to the initiators of these efforts. Our information is imperfect as it is dependent upon the press and upon voluntary correspondence, but it appears that only a handful, certainly not more than a dozen American academic institutions have adopted policies comparable to those of Harvard on relations with the CIA or the intelligence community generally. A few other institutions have adopted "guidelines" of a rather different import. For example, the Amherst College faculty in October 1978 endorsed a faculty committee report that recommended policies and practices the college

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administration should impose on itself (that all grants or contracts it accepted should be public as to sponsorship and purpose and should allow the free publication of any research results and that the college should not cooperate in any security investigations "without the obligation to inform the individual [affected] of such action in advance") but, explicitly rejecting college "guidelines" to the faculty and staff, urged their voluntary avoidance of practices that had been exposed as abuses of academic principles. In many universities, including the entire university system of the State of California, faculties have refused to accept direction, or even advice, on a subject, professional ethics, about which they consider themselves competent to make valid judgments individually. (U)

The guidelines issue cannot be considered a dead issue. There are many faculty members and many university and college administrators who oppose in principle some of the practices to which the CIA and other intelligence agencies are committed by their mandates from the President of the United States (and lately even from the Congress). For the moment, however, the issue is at least moribund. It has been overtaken by events, those same events described earlier as having produced the great amelioration of Agency relations with the academic community. Harvard itself has reopened its gates since the invasion of Afghanistan. (U)

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